1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5



of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather. Wherever they may be, the men usually sit about smoking, talking about their crops or work, or telling stories and jokes. Some men play Chinese chess or listen to the radio at the village store.

The women have less free time during the day regardless of the agricultural season. During the slack seasons women are occupied steadily with ordinary household tasks. During the busy season they are simply busier, taking on additional work in the fields, cooking food at home for any hired laborers, or drying rice or vegetables after the harvest. When women do not have pressing work, they often spend their time in small groups working on fiber hats or mending clothing. At times as they work they may listen to Taiwanese opera on a radio, but more often they simply talk or gossip. Women also spend some of their free time visiting with neighbors or *ch'in tsu* in the village. If their own parents or brothers live in villages nearby, they may visit them on occasion for several hours.

## OLD AGE

As old age approaches—and a person is considered old after fifty—both men and women gradually retire from farm work and household tasks if they have children who are able to take over the work and care for them. While this is usually the case, in these days there are also times when married sons go off to work in Taipei, and it then becomes necessary for the old man and the daughters-in-law to work the land. In such cases even the old mother has to do a great deal of work in the household.

In general, however, old age is a time of great freedom and leisure for men and women. Since they have few pressing responsibilities, they are free to wander about the village and visit each other. At most, old people of either sex may help watch their young grandchildren during the day. Some of the older people, especially one or two grandmothers in Hsin Hsing, are known for their ability to tell wonderful stories based on Taiwan opera or puppet shows which they have seen in the surrounding villages or in Lukang.

Unlike younger people, the old are not under pressure to adhere to the proprieties of life. Old women smoke in public, appear at public dinners normally attended by men only, and are generally outspoken. Old men frequent banquets and festivals held in Hsin Hsing and even surrounding villages. On such occasions they care little how much they eat and frequently gorge themselves with the good food. Their juniors watch and say nothing, and in fact seem to enjoy watching the old men behaving in ways that they cannot. At most they may laugh and make good-natured jokes at how much the old man is still capable of

596 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation
594 was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in
621 which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found
• 886 in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiû: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiû:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien



[Lim Chieng-cua's eldest son] not having to do anything. If Kim-hok was bringing honor to the family with his studies, I wouldn't complain about it, but he isn't studying at all. He plays all day long. When I was in the fifth and sixth year of school, I already had to work or the older generations would be scolding me. It wasn't long before I knew what I had to do, and I could do it without being told. Don't think I didn't prefer to play! But, they made me work and I was afraid not to. Children are all this way. If you don't force them to work, then they don't."

A-bok even relaxed enough to gossip about something that seemed to amuse him. "You know, Masa took a look in the account books at the pharmacy, and he says that Uncle has already taken out NT$800 worth of medicine, all hormones."

When I asked why, A-bok laughed and said, "Well, they say hormones are even better than *ginseng* for making you younger. [I think he meant to imply that Lim Chieng-cua was trying to achieve a longer and more energetic sex life.] Haven't you seen him taking shots all the time? He also drinks milk everyday, but then who in his family doesn't? If you say anything about it though, they always say it is because one or the other of them is sick. Our family hasn't the good fortune to have such bad health.

"You know that last quarrel I had with Uncle? If it had been Masa, he wouldn't have yielded and would have fought [physically] with him. Masa doesn't care . . . There was another thing that made Masa really mad. My aunt took all her children to Tapu one afternoon and somehow my son got away and followed them. She bought candy for all her own children and just let my son stand and watch them eat. Now you think about that. Was this 'proper behavior' or not? When her second and third sons were small, my mother took care of them most of the time. They even slept with her. So how can she act this way to my son now? Mother helps her all the time. even now, but she not only doesn't feel indebted to my mother, she thinks that she *ought* to help her. She thinks she ought to do this just like a servant. I tell my mother not to help her. My aunt never helps us do anything. She raises all those ducks and chickens and when they get old enough she won't kill them to eat, but saves them for her own family to eat as 'medicine.' You can see that we don't have very many chickens and ducks even for the big feast days." This is a source of great shame to A-bok's mother who is embarrassed that their pros-

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Table 8. Distribution of Surnames in Sanlei

| Surname | Number of Individuals* | Number of Chia Chang** |
|---|---|---|
| Liao | 180 | 36 |
| Chang | 34 | 5 |
| Huang | 29 | 2 |
| Chien | 23 | 4 |
| Tu | 22 | 2 |
| Chiu | 18 | 3 |
| Wu | 14 | 1 |
| Lin | 13 | 4 |
| Ch'en | 11 | 2 |
| Hsu | 10 | 2 |
| Wang | 7 | 1 |
| Hsieh | 7 | - |
| Kao | 5 | 1 |
| Tuan | 5 | - |
| Chou | 4 | - |
| Chuang | 2 | 1 |
| Shih | 1 | 1 |
| Chiang | 1 | 1 |
| 12 Other Names | 23*** | - |
| TOTAL | 409 | 66 |

*Employing maiden names
**Head of Family (see next section)
***No more than 3 people per surname

Chia Chang

592 The chia chang, head of the family or household, constitutes a significant role in Chinese society. It is formally recognized in official records and in formal village social organization although official records (household registration) and informal recognition do not always coincide. For example, it is expected that men will start to withdraw from active control of the family as they approach age 60, eventually turning all power over to the eldest son, or at least the oldest one who remains at home.

[886]

527 561 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 527 805 886 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX, the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but 527 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There 886 will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

0007 As a term paper project in my undergraduate class, the late Joseph Payne conducted 50 surveys of ancestral shrines in the city of Taipei and found only 37 had ancestral tablets but all 50 had censers.

[776] 8 The question as to whether or not Confucianism is a religion has not yet been settled (C.K.Yang,1967:26-7). Villagers believe that Confucius is a god who has the power to do good.

9 "Bad-hearted" is a literal translation. The idea which is conveyed seems to be a combination of insincerity and impropriety. On the other hand, a "good-hearted" person is usually one who does the right thing at the right time, quietly and modestly.

10 When invited to a wedding, the guest is expected to pay an amount in cash (enclosed in a red envelope) which is sufficient to cover the cost of his food and drink. The size of the donation which is proper varies but an informal communication system conveys the amount. I use donation advisedly for in practice, one often does not recieve the formal invitation until after the donation has been delivered.

## Chapter VIII: The Life Cycle

1 Subsequent to the completion of the study, the change to nine years has been officially inaugurated.

2 The children sleep in bed with their parents until about age ten (See subsequent section of this chapter).

3 He was often consulted by other villagers with regard to the accuracy of some line of poetry or quotation from the classics.

4 Wine houses serve drinks and food along with entertainment by prostitutes. Although use is made of the prostitutes, many trips are merely to drink, eat, and joke with the girls while sitting at a table with male friends.

5 There are a very few wealthier families who celebrate a man's fiftieth birthday.

• [884] 6 Over age 60, everyone is considered to be old. Some people argue that old age commences at age 50.

7 This would mean that the 60th, 80th, and 100th are more important than the 70th or 90th although the increment of importance added by the greater age overwhelms the differences from the belief in numbers.

8 No one was sure what would be the nature of a ceremony for a married person who died young without having any children. The only cases of married barren people in recent memory were all those who married late in life and were both poor and with a small network of kinsmen. The ceremonies in each case were simple but this could be related to the latter two factors rather than the lack of descendants alone.